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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, Uka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

602 582 842 Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
• 583 591 602 606 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjustment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved. 224 [692] [583] [439] [436] [764] [554]

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit. 223 [554]

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and 224 [857]

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or nearby households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

• 583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

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Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is 845 bride price, patrilocal 883 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 891

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 895 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are 794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [532] [534] nimiama or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Dranbaj to make payment on May's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting [602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his nam (mother's brother). It is also War's nam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his nam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay nam at hant sugwiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kamb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kamb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kamb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and Hay would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [982] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Wey's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (herapa na mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Uramban, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. Mey said he had been that way ever since punga wesni at Sow's.

584 754 Gwiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Male and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owuta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Down and Afa would get Uka's.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Khiye and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a mat bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hay was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. His was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hay was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgwasaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umwiyin. Her brother was killed by the police boys.

583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimwa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong
mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride
price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased
and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for
fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his
mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind).
When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all
this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and
then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and
tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also
said that Yatsaninj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked
to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was
likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it
(evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help
him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the
women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed
and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Una, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi
and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very
much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Hauok was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawa who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawa gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Owiyap and Hay.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Ninjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Ninjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Hamb and Wisap, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Gwiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

January 17, 1937.

Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to Mar, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked Mar directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Gwiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.
[125]

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
● 583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Hamb, Hay and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerises people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

587 837 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away and was very indignant. She said Dagumur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new wife. This he did -- Gawas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 786 During the Tenama ceremony a Tenama wife will make an appointment with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*715 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Gviyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Owiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Owiyap.
*115 Owiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Owiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Una, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Una was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Owiyap that when the pay came for Una,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Una.

115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

115 Gwiyap heard that Gemwi, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

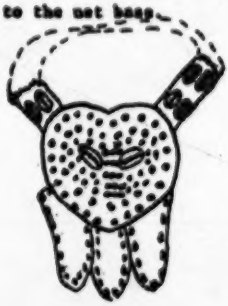
April 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, nd fender ye which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

Ornaments

301 286 287 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (*nwfwd*) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells, *yasi* (small cowrie shells) and *sasmangfrí* (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called *nŋ masfkí* (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (*amángurí*), shell ornaments (*wanyivé*), *yasi*, *sasmangfrí* and *lofu wafé* (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (*mano*) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the *mano*.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (*afo fokw*) is attached